1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

593 The sense of strict inviolability of personal rights carries over to personal services. Never did a husband order his wife to do anything outside of her proper domain. While I lived with them, in spite of the excellent care they gave me, even to the point of anticipating my wishes in a great many cases, never did a husband request his wife to prepare food for me. He asked her if she would, acting merely as my messenger. 604 No closer relationship can exist than between maternal uncle and nephew, yet even he does not feel free to ask any service of his nephew, nor to take the latter's personal property.

DIVISION OF LABOR

462 562 Sexual dichotomy in economic activities is clearly defined. In a general way, it may be said that the rougher, harder, and more dangerous work belongs in the province of male activity and that there is no task which calls for strength or danger that properly belongs in the realm of woman's activity. Should any woman be engaged in a hard or dangerous piece of work and a man happens to be present there is a tacit assumption of the task by the latter. Hunting and fishing and presumably the act of fighting in war are man's tasks. The gathering of roots, fruits, seed, and their preparation belongs to [222] the women. It is interesting to note that the gathering of honey, which entails some risk, is done by the men. The making of canoes, the making of implements, of hammocks, the activities in making camp are all in man's domain. The preparation of food and the making of pottery and basketry are woman's tasks.

HUNTING AND FISHING

224 868 857 Hunting and fishing are male occupations exclusively. As soon as the young boy is able to toddle about he is made to play with bow and arrow and learns to make these indispensable tools. It is a common sight to see little boys who are too young to be taken along by the men on hunting expeditions playing at the game of hunting; and when a man is in camp busily preparing his hunting equipment his young son is by his side working industriously on miniature bows and arrows.

225 411 501 The equipment of the hunter is simple. Bow, arrow, and canoe are indispensable. A Yaruro does not like to roam on land, but there is no need for him to do so since he can get his game in the watercourses or along their banks. So he sets off in the early morning, generally accompanied by his hunting companion, to look for crocodile (*Crocodilus babu*). He will hunt for other forms of life only reluctantly, having a special liking for crocodile meat.

Because of the shyness of crocodile the hunter is most often forced to shoot at it from a distance. Since an arrow will seldom kill one

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

606 daughter, but he should have married the daughter of one Juan
604 Bario, who was a parallel cousin of Landaeta, therefore, he actually married not his immediate cross cousin, but his cross cousin once removed. He kept strictly within the cross moiety marriage rule. However, this marriage brought complications in his life, because for all practical purposes he had two fathers-in-law to take care of rather than one. He solved this problem by living with Landaeta, his wife's father, half of the week, and the other half he spent with his uncle,

601
621
596

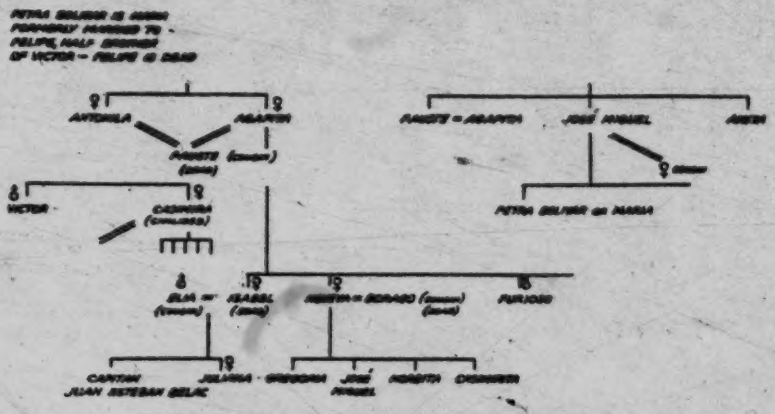

FIGURE 23.—Yaruro family hunting group at El Burren.

606 Juan Bario, whose daughter he would have married if she had lived.
604 The sense of service which he owed to his true uncle, his mother's brother, was strong enough to persist, even though it visited a hardship on him.

616 Within the tribal organization the individual looks to his moiety
476 for guidance, protection, and social intercourse. In return for this he is obligated to members of his moiety in a variety of ways. He acknowledges their affinity to him by seeking their company, by hunting together with them, and by sharing his food with them.

622 In the family hunting group its head is socially a stranger to most
● 593 of the people around him. Indeed, if he has no sisters or has sis-
626 ters who do not have any sons and has no brothers living with him, then socially he is almost out of place in the family hunting group. His wife, of course, belongs to the opposite moiety, and the children trace their descent through the mother. His wife's mother, sisters, brothers and their children belong to the same moiety
604 as herself. When his own children are old enough to take part in
593 hunting they look to their mother and to her brother, or brothers, for
476 guidance and it is toward the latter that they have all sorts of social obligations. To their father they show respect, but to the mother's

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

brothers they must make offerings of labor and food. In fact as soon as they are old enough to do so, the boys will spend a good portion of their time in the family group of their uncles on their mother's side. They hunt with him, they help him build his canoes, work for him, and take part in the feasts and ceremonies with him.

However, the father is interested in his children, especially when they are young, and treats them with the utmost kindness and they reciprocate by acknowledging filial respect. Perhaps it was this difference in the attitude between the uncle and the father that led the missionaries to comment that the Yaruros and the Otomacos showed no respect for their fathers and often killed them.

A Yaruro makes no mistake between those individuals in his group who are related to him biologically and those who are merely related to him socially. For instance, he calls his father "aia" or "aiamái," and he calls his father's brothers by the same word. In fact he distinguishes between the older and the younger brothers of his father, so that he may call his father's elder brother "aiamái otéh," which is translatable into "elder father". He will refer to the younger brother of his father as "aiamái durimé," meaning "younger father." Not only does he call the brothers of his father by the same term as he addresses his own father, but the parallel cousins also are addressed by the same term. Since his own father must show respect to his older brothers, the son assumes the same attitude as his father toward the older members of the family. In the female line, he refers to his mother as "aí" and his mother's sisters as "aí" also, suffixing the term for older and younger as the case may be. The female parallel cousins of his mother are called by the same term.

On the other hand the sisters of the father are addressed as "haí" and the brothers of his mother are addressed as "hademái". It is these classes of individuals whom we can refer to as aunt and uncle.

His brothers he calls "ajimái" or "anyimai" and his sisters "amí". These terms are extended to his parallel cousins both on his father's and mother's side. The children of his father's brothers, and his mother's sisters, he calls "anyiná," if male, and "ani," if female. His cross-cousins he addresses as follows: "keramái", the sons of his mother's brother, which is equivalent to brother-in-law; "nyohé" the daughters of his mother's brother; "avimái", the sons of his father's sister; and "haí haó", the daughters of his father's sister.

There is a striking resemblance between the terms which he employs to indicate his grandchildren and his grandparents. The children of his daughter, if boys, he will refer to as "hiamai," if girls, "hiatokwi." The children of his son, on the other hand, if boys, he will call "hadamai," and if girls "hadatokwi." His grandfather on his father's side he calls "hadaoteh." His grandmother

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

601 marriage she called also "nyowuh", are referred to as "keramai". The father-in-law calls his son-in-law "haiméma'", which means "the one my daughter married", and the son-in-law calls his father-in-law "huíteh". His mother-in-law, whom he never addresses directly, he [606] refers to as "kaikamúe". The girl refers to her father-in-law as "kuinté". Before marriage the boy would have called his uncle, the brother of his mother, "húidemái".

616 There do not seem to be any rites or ceremonies from which members of the opposite moiety are excluded. According to my informants, the Puaná clan moiety is preeminent over the Itciai moiety, therefore the person recognized as its head is considered to be the [578] chief of the Yaruros. There is no resentment, as far as I was able to learn, to this arrangement. Primarily, I suppose, because the biological descendants of an individual pass from one moiety to another and therefore share in its prerogatives. The Yaruros' social concepts in respect to moiety membership is best expressed by reciprocal duties, obligations, and prerogatives. Under the elementary local system the son-in-law is almost a guest among his wife's people with whom he goes to live. During the rainy season when more permanent shelters are built, according to my informants, they have more ceremonies, during one of which the unmarried boys of one moiety then sit in the house of the other moiety.

616 Although there is no exclusion of the members of the opposite
796 moiety in the ceremonies, if the shaman is of the Puaná moiety,
791 those that sit closest to him are members of his own moiety. But even in this case the other moiety is represented, and in fact indirectly serves him. His own wife sits at his right and it is she who assists him when her help is needed by handing to him the various pieces of his paraphernalia and tobacco. It is she, likewise, who prepares the various drinks. The rest of the members of her moiety, if they happen to be present, take their places following the members of the shaman's moiety.

604 When a man is undertaking a hunt or wishes to build a canoe he
476 calls on his nephews, that is, his sister's sons, for help, and they are obligated to be at his service. This obligation and service, which begins as soon as the boy begins to understand his position in the society, lasts a lifetime. When the uncle or uncles become too feeble to hunt for themselves it is these nephews who supply them with food and everything else they may need. This service may be interpreted as compensation to the uncles for their daughters who become the wives of these youths. But there was no indication that it was so considered by the Yaruro.

593 h. A man, therefore, does not have the services nor the social life of
604 his children, but has to look to his sister's womb for individuals to educate and to assist him.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

pole in a circle but merely move forward and backward. During the performance it is prohibited for anyone to pass by the head of the sick person. The shaman will sing all night and if by morning the sick person has not shown any marked improvement the woman shaman will lie in a hammock with her head pointing to the east and will continue the singing. Other women will sit in the hammock with her and sing all day long. I myself underwent such attention. If the wife shows little interest in the welfare of her husband it is concrete proof that she does not love him and it is believed he will die. In this there are two factors to be considered from my observation of these people. The first is that a lack of wifely interest is the equivalent of bad medicine and that the husband himself will feel so disconsolate that all desire to live will be lost.

If the sick person dies during the night nothing is done except to stop the singing and dancing. At daybreak his people will drink vast quantities of chica and prepare for the funeral rites. If the sick person happens to be a woman in her menstrual period it is important to note that she is in the care of the woman shaman. The man shaman does not dare to sing to her.

In the morning the dead person is washed by the women and the body is wrapped in a hammock and taken to the burial place. The brothers and the uncles carry the body. The father and mother do not accompany the body to the grave, but in the case of a married man the widow does. The body is interred in the hammock with the head pointing to the east. The bow and arrows, whatever clothing he may have possessed, and any equipment are buried with him, but neither food nor water is necessary. The night after the burial there is a feast in the camp, but the taboo on fish is observed by everyone. The shaman and the people will sing the equivalent of:

The dead one died here, now he has arrived in the Land of Kuma, and there he has been made young again (if a child dies, it becomes a young man or woman, according to the sex). He will know nothing but joy now and will have everything he may desire.

The widow goes on a strict diet for four days. All fires which were burning at the time of the death of the individual are put out and fresh ones are built. On the fourth day the two men, who have put the dead body into the pit, and the widow, bathe; they fast on the fifth. On the fifth night the shaman sings in order to find out if the dead person has reached Kuma, if he has been given a new name, if he has been made young, strong, and rich. For a month after this the widow keeps a strict diet and she is not married for a long time. It is believed that if a man marries a widow soon after her husband has died he will die soon of the same sickness.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

The first fact that holds our attention is that Yaruros are strongly ethically conscious. Every shamanistic performance is the means for the propagation of ethical teachings. The shaman, or as the Yaruros believe, the gods and their dead ancestors speaking through the shaman, admonish various individuals and lay down the law for proper conduct. They hold the threat also that misconduct will be displeasing to the mother goddess and as a result life with her will not be as pleasant as it would be if they followed her precepts in this world.

According to the Yaruro philosophy the world is, by its nature, good and it was created by Kuma as a good thing. If any evil exists it has been introduced by men, who have forgotten or come to disregard the laws laid down by the goddess. The world, if unsullied by men, is a perfect integration of the elements which function for the good of mankind. Unfortunately, at times men will disturb the structure. There is implied in this the existence of free will for mankind, since it can change or disturb what was created by Kuma. And if we have recourse to the legends, we find that perhaps the lower animals have free will also, although it is exercised by them much more rarely than by mankind.

Kuma appears also as the teacher of ethical laws. She told the people, told Hatchawa, and now tells the shamans: to live in peace with each other; to respect each other; to help each other; to live good lives; to take care of the parents-in-law and the children-in law. When the wife is ill or otherwise the mother-in-law should look after the needs of her son-in-law, although they do not speak to each other. The Yaruros will find recompense for such moral living after death. They are poor on this earth but will be rich like Kuma in the other world.

During my stay the women remained bashful, never speaking directly to me, and when I approached generally looking away. In the latter days they would laugh merrily as they fled. Their culture does not permit free social intercourse with men, but any request on my part relayed to them through their husbands or brothers was eagerly complied with, and with better than good humor.

All were helpful toward each other and there did not appear to be any dissension. Extreme care was taken that a person's rights and prerogatives were not infringed upon. The husband never seemed to request anything of his wife that did not lie in her province, and when strange demands were made to please me, entire freedom was given to the wife, or daughter, to do as it pleased her. Any misfortune, however slight or serious, that would produce some expression of anger among white people was met by the Yaruros with merry laughter. At night each family group lay on the sands

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

At night each family group lay on the sands
521 talking a little, laughing a little. I made it a custom of visiting every night, and usually the men gathered around. The women, keeping in the background, made all sorts of inquiries concerning my country and people, but always through the men.

831 One cannot live on intimate terms with a group of people a week
123 without learning something of their sexual attitudes. Only too often is this factor dangled in front of him, so that if he were to base his report on recurrent experiences and situations it would be largely made up of sex and sex problems. However, the sexual element is strongly present, but it is in normal cases a simple matter.

121 A simple matter but of exceeding importance if we are to believe the psychologists. Basic to life, and to social organization, the attitude toward it has its effect on the life of the individual and on the culture, but equal the make-up of the indidivual and the culture produces the sexual attitude.

836 To begin with, this writer does not know anything about the sexual development of Yaruro boy or girl. He does not know what secret sexual play the children may indulge in, nor does he know whether the unmarried girl has any sexual relations. He thinks that the un-
838 married do. He also thinks that there is some kind of homosexuality among the boys, and even the men. The following is based on what he observed, heard, and saw without any undue prying about.

857 The sexes are kept apart from infancy. A baby girl is launched
855 into her future career as a woman almost from birth. She is the
593 special care of the mother and women folk. When she is able to play she plays alone, with other girls, or with the women. She never plays with the boys. When she is able to work she helps her mother, never her father nor her elder brothers. She may be helped in her work by her brother.

593 It is impossible to claim that the attachment is stronger between the mother and children than between the father and daughter. It would be necessary to investigate the problem from the psychological point of view. But such is the case socially and economically.

The maternal uncle does to a certain degree substitute for the father, but this substitution is formal and social.

867 From babyhood the child learns his relationship to those about
602 him. One woman is its mother. She it is who gives suck, holds, etc. Later he learns that he must call other women mother also. These are the sisters of his true mother. One man he learns to call father. This man is the one who is most with his mother, in whose canoe
602 they travel, etc. Other men he calls father also, the brothers of his true father. Thus relationships are defined sexually, familiarly, and formally. In respect to girls of his own age he learns that some he calls sisters and others by terms whose equivalent may be rendered

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 8519 Yaruro 8519

602 "sweetheart", "potential wife". At any rate, the boy learns that
[582] members of the former class he can not marry, and that one, a particular one of the second class, will become his wife. Thus on those who stand in the familiar relationship he cannot cast sexual thoughts.

836 Intersexual activity before marriage was not observable and it seemed as if there would be little opportunity for it. Boys and girls are kept separate, the girls staying with their mothers, the boys with the men. At night there seemed to be the same division.

854 During infancy there is no organized play for the girl. Her
861 parents do not play as we are wont to do. She is not teased into
[865] laughter, but tender care is given to her. She is fed, cleaned, kept in the shade, and made to wear ornaments. Dolls of clay may be made for her. During this period she is taken everywhere by the mother. From babyhood she participates in the collection of food, in its preparation and cooking, in the making of basketry, pottery, making and breaking camp, traveling in canoes, but always with her mother.
868 Gradually she learns to take a more active part in the female tasks. The important point is that the proper decorum for her is to keep to members of her own sex. She does not become a tomboy. If she learns to perform tasks it is only because the women are supposed to have a smattering of them anyhow. Paddling is one of these.

854 The boy's life is first shared with his mother, and although fondled
593 by the father, he remains with the mother until he is able to walk and paddle. Thus, whereas the girl never comes under the direct influence of her father, the boy is under the direct influence of the mother during his infancy and babyhood. Gradually he participates more and more in manly tasks, but as a matter of fact he never entirely disassociates himself from his mother. As long as he is unmarried he performs tasks for his mother and she takes care of him, performing such acts as cooking, delousing, etc. He gathers wood, lights fires, etc.

864 The children are not kept in sexual ignorance. At least the boys
831 seem to learn something of the sexual functions at an early age. From what I observed of Yaruro camp life, it seems that no attempt was made to keep knowledge of sex and sexual functions away from the children. In the first place, there is no sense of modesty so far as the sexual parts are concerned, and therefore there is no ignorance on the part of the children. There is very little, if any, sexual play among the adults during the day. Since the attitude toward the sexual parts of the body is one of indifference there is very little that may happen which would indicate any interest in those parts. Any knowledge that the children may have of sex must, therefore, be gathered from observation of their parents.

1: Petrullo E-3 (1933-34) 1939 SS19 Yaruro SS19

Even if there were stronger interest in sex than seemed to exist, there would be little opportunity for the youngsters to indulge in any sexual relations, since their playmates tend to be parallel cousins and very often playmates are lacking altogether. In the small hunting groups often there may be only one or two unmarried young people. Under such conditions a boy would either have to seek sex relations with one of his moiety sisters or practice adultery with a woman of the opposite moiety living with his own hunting group. We may presume that neither incest nor adultery are unknown to the Yaruros. During my stay among them there was no evidence of that.

Another factor which tends to help the Yaruros live a strictly moral life is that upon reaching puberty both boys and girls marry if a mate is available, even though the wife or husband may be considerably older. Premarital romantic love life may be entirely absent on this account, but one suspects that another type of romanticism may be built on what is available. For instance, practically from babyhood the boy or girl knows whom he or she will marry and in waiting for the promised day one would suspect an emotional attitude is built up. It is certain that after marriage strong bonds of affection are developed between husband and wife. Strictly limited in choice, there can be no free play for one's desires.

In the Yaruro society prostitution is probably absent. I believe that today some degree of prostitution has been forced upon them by the peoples with whom they come in contact. Perhaps we should call it purchasing of sexual rights, with the Yaruros playing a docile if not hostile part. After all, they are forced to acquiesce in a great many practices foreign to their ideas.

The above is the sexual ambient. As a result the adults act in the following manner. Sexual intercourse is considered one of the numerous natural acts. It is not exaggerated, little talked or joked about, and judging from the sort of life they lead not over indulged in.

Among the men, woman is not discussed. Neither virtue nor sin is the subject of comment. She is let strictly alone and uncensored. Obscenity is rare.

If any homosexuality exists it must be established by inference. It is common among the hunting tribes for a man to have a companion with whom he hunts, travels, and with whom he spends most of his time. Such companionship seems to be closer before marriage than after.

I have observed two boys, unmarried because no girls were available, engaged in such acts as we are accustomed to impute to love making—holding hands, etc. Yet, lest we jump at hasty conclusions, it must be said that affection between men is demonstrated much more so than